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(Negative).

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EXTERNAL - POLITICAL

1. Soviet Foreign Relations - December 15-21. The USSR seized upon the Indian invasion of Goa with ill-concealed pleasure, distorting and magnifying it as an East-West issue, and exploiting it to push its own difficulties within the bloc into the background. There was no delay in determining what line should be taken. The Indian resort to arms was described as an important national liberation development, having worldwide implications for the anti-colonial struggle. The facts that the Portuguese territories concerned were petty, that Portuguese dominion over them was anachronistic, and that there were complexities in Western relationships toward the issue, were not only not mentioned, but were suppressed. Instead, the liberation of Goa, Damao, and Diu were presented as a major loss, not only for Portugal, but for NATO and the West generally. NATO was alleged to have used Goa as some sort of link in a chain of installations against the Communist bloc, as well as against uncommitted countries.

Despite the attention to Goa and colonialism generally, the break with Albania continues to be the heavy-weight issue in Soviet propaganda. This was expressed in a large number of editorial and feature articles and in the selection of news printed. Among these, the press reported the CEMA meeting which opened December 12 in Warsaw, indicating plainly that Albania was not invited and that the Chinese were absent from their prescribed role as observers.

Relatively little was said in the press about coming negotiations with the West about Berlin or about the NATO ministerial meeting in Paris. The latter was given routine propaganda treatment portraying NATO's alleged aggressive nature, the growth of German influence in the West, and internal Western contradictions centering on commercial competition.

On the other hand, the German military build-up and false accusations about FRG opposition to negotiations on Berlin were the object of a sharp and unusually vicious series of articles, cartoons, and World War II photographs. These were centered around the theme that possession of high rank and responsibility by General HEUSINGER means a revival of fascism and war danger in the West.

Despite the anti-colonialist, anti-NATO, anti-German propaganda, the general atmosphere created at the 22nd Party Congress, when KHRUSHCHEV removed the 1961 deadline for a separate peace treaty, and by the ADZHUBEI interview, still remains.

2. Berlin/Germany. Western divergencies over negotiations on Berlin continued to attract the burden of Soviet press comment on the NATO ministerial meeting. Soviet discussion of these differences claimed widespread support for general negotiations on Germany among "the little NATO states," and alleged FRG opposition to any negotiations at all. Britain and the United States were pictured as favoring discussions, but limited only to West Berlin.

The following charges were made regarding Western positions on Berlin: Western intentions to seek an improvement in the conditions of the occupation regime will guarantee, in advance, the failure of negotiations; expectation that the Soviet

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Union will join in making mutual concessions is typical of bourgeoise diplomacy and ignores the fact that Soviet diplomacy never compromises on matters of principle; such "absurd" concepts as an international autobahn authority indicate the West has failed to take account of the new correlation of forces and is attempting to preserve occupation rights which have long since been invalidated.

The propaganda campaign against General Heusinger has continued with daily press articles reporting international support for the Soviet demand for Heusinger's extradition and new "discoveries" of the General's alleged complicity in war crimes. The propaganda material, depending heavily upon accounts of executions of Soviet civilians for participating in guerrilla warfare, lacks specific evidence substantiating the Soviet charge that Heusinger was responsible for these actions. However, it appears that the campaign is not without some impact on the Soviet public.

3. Africa. The Guinean Presidential emissary, DIALLO, paid a quick visit to Moscow December 16-20. While here, Diallo was received by Khrushchev and GROMYKO, who also gave a luncheon in his honor. The press described Diallo's meetings as having taken place "in a cordial atmosphere," but no reference was made to the purpose of his unheralded visit. To date there has been no public mention of the reported difficulties between the Soviet Embassy in Conakry and GOG officials, nor to the public unrest which apparently was connected with this estrangement.

The fast-moving events in the Congo, particularly the ADOULA-TSHOMBE meeting in Kintone, have apparently left Soviet propaganda without a ready line to take. As long as the UN offensive was under heavy criticism in Belgium, Britain, and France, the Soviets concentrated on flailing the "old colonialists," glossing over Soviet objections to the UN role in the Congo. However, with the sudden shift in the outlook for an Adoula-Tshombe agreement, Soviet comment has reverted to denunciations of alleged United States machinations to take over Katanga, as well as the rest of the Congo, from European colonial interests, covering the whole operation with the UN flag.

4. Latin America. The President's visit to Venezuela and Colombia received minor attention in the Soviet press. What little was said tended to play up what was described as extraordinary security measures to cope with popular hostility to the President's trip in both countries. Soviet comments pointed out that these two South American countries have severed relations with Cuba, and claimed that the President's visit was meant to constitute a reward for this action. The treatment of the President's visit in the Soviet press contrasted with full coverage of the current BREZHNEV visit to India, which was pictured as a truly friendly visit based on healthy, cordial relations.

Izvestiya (December 20) reported that Ecuadoran President AROSAMENA had stated in a speech in Guayaquil that Ecuador will establish trade, diplomatic, and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Several Soviet papers reported allegedly provocative behavior by American officials in processing the Soviet freighter "Suvorov" during its passage through the Panama Canal on November 30. The articles claimed the Soviet crew was confined to quarters, radar equipment was photographed and several items were stolen from the captain's cabin.

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5. Goa. The Soviet press gave a big spread to the Indian invasion of Goa, Damao, and Diu, not unexpectedly taking the position that the Indian action was fully justified and enjoys the support of the Soviet people. The extraordinary efforts to make it appear that the United States was responsible for Portugal's failure to negotiate with India on these enclaves for the past 14 years betrays Soviet hope that the development can be exploited to undermine US-Indian relations. India's action probably also will be helpful to the Soviets in their ideological dispute with the Chinese, because the Soviets can use it to support their thesis that liberation movements will develop spontaneously and can be helped along by economic and other forms of aid from the bloc without involvement of bloc military forces and risk of nuclear war.

6. West Irian. The implications of the Indian invasion of Goa for Indonesia's struggle to gain control over West Irian were a feature of Soviet press coverage of Goa. The press reported that the Dutch have put their armed forces in New Guinea on alert and reported SUKARNO's December 19 speech in Djojakarta calling for general mobilization. There also has been an attempt to make it appear that the United States stands behind Dutch policy on New Guinea and that this territory is considered of strategic importance to NATO. However, the accomplished fact in Goa received far more attention than the threat of similar action in West Irian. Soviet awareness of the continuing possibility of a negotiated settlement was acknowledged by press reports on the exchange of messages between President KENNEDY and Sukarno.

7. Laos. The Soviet press printed the text of the GROMYKO-HOME letter to the three princes urging prompt formation of a coalition government. A Pravda article accused PHOUMI and "certain aggressive circles" of making a last-ditch effort to sabotage a peaceful settlement in Laos. But the article was moderate in tone and omitted any mention of the United States.

INTERNAL - POLITICAL

8. Preparation Continues on New Campaign to Repatriate Soviet Armenians. Apparently the regime has been taking steps to implement Armenian Party First Secretary Ya. N. ZAROBYAN's September announcement that a new campaign would be begun in 1962 to return Armenians living abroad "back home" (WEEKA No. 39 of September 29, 1961). Embassy travelers to Yerevan last week were shown housing being prepared for the "many thousands" of Armenians expected to return during the campaign (Embassy A-479, December 22, 1961).

9. Two More Aspects of the Khrushchev Cult. In a country like the Soviet Union where the stengazeta (a public newspaper pasted to walls) has given communication-by-wall a certain milieu, nevertheless opinions expressed in the scribblings found on lavatory walls probably should not be read as accurate information, if at all. However, they probably represent the opinions of a certain class, or sloy (i.e., "strata") as it is put in this society of non-antagonistic classes. That this sloy, at least in Stalin's Georgian homeland, resents N. S. Khrushchev's recent actions against their hero, can be inferred from the following inscriptions copied by a reliable foreign diplomat about a week ago from the lavatory walls of the Railroad Station at Gori, Stalin's birthplace:

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"Glory to Stalin's Policy"

"Go to Hell Khrushchev"

"—— Khrushchev"

"Death to the Soviet Government".

The same diplomat was struck by the openly hostile criticism shown Khrushchev by the few members of the Georgian public he chanced upon Tbilisi during his trip (taxi drivers, hotel employees, and the like). They seemed to resent the Party policy to further denigrate Stalin ("a dead man"). One of these contacts, apparently a man from the "middle-sloy", who, although not a Party member claimed to be a Bolshevik, and who stated that he had relatives who were unjustly killed by Stalin, ventured the opinion that Khrushchev would have shown a little more of the courage now attributed to him if he had come out with his revelations while Stalin was still living.

Far on the other side of the "cult" scale, recent Embassy travelers to Kiev report a red banner strung across one of the streets of that Ukrainian capital inscribed with the words: "Glory to Nikita Serveyevich Khrushchev--Untiring Fighter in the Battle for Peace and Happiness." Presumably it was there to greet Khrushchev, who attended the recent agricultural conference in Kiev.

10. Anti-Semitism: "Underground" Poem Indicates Yevtushenko Controversy Continues. The Embassy has seen a copy of an unpublished poem, presumably written by a Soviet Jew, alleging that the Soviet poet Aleksey MARKOV is an anti-Semite. (Embassy D-543, December 21, 1961.) Markov will be remembered as among the first to publicly criticize Ye. A. YEVTUSHENKO's stinging attack on Russian anti-Semitism contained in his poem "Babiy Yar", which was published (in part) in Literaturnaya Gazetta on September 16, 1961 (WEEKA No. 39, September 29, 1961, and No. 40, October 6, 1961). The "underground" poem--a faint carbon copy written on glossy paper--showed signs of wear. It was said to be making the rounds among intellectuals, particularly in Jewish circles. The unknown author uses many of the same words Markov used in his anti-Yevtushenko piece, "My Answer", and he accuses him of being a "third" Markov following in the inglorious footsteps of a notorious anti-Semite named Markov dating from Czarist days, who was nicknamed the "second". The poem suggests a spiritual link between anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and Russian chauvinism.

Although the Embassy believes the poem described above to be genuine, caution is in order in such matters as suggested by a recent New York Herald Tribune article entitled, "Six Soviet Heroes, All Jews, Speak Up", which seems to be based on false information (Embassy A-480, December 22, 1961). The article reports an appeal by Soviet Jewish War veterans to the Soviet Government to end anti-Semitic measures allegedly introduced by Stalin. The motivation for planting such a story could be to ascribe Russian anti-Semitism to the "bad old days" of Stalin and to suggest that such abuses are about to be corrected. Every indication available to this Embassy is that anti-Semitism is deep-rooted among several Soviet populations (especially the Great Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians) and, like most social manifestations of that kind, will have great staying power.

11. Trouble in Soviet Education: Seduction at the Internat. In keeping with Izvestiya's richly-earned reputation for printing some of the more sensational stories found in the Soviet press, N. S. Khrushchev's son-in-law, Chief editor Adzhubei, permitted publication in his December 21 issue of a story about immorality at a Latvian school. Six years ago, Yanis SMELTER took over as director of Plyavinskiy High School No. 1, which was in poor shape. He quietly turned it into a "model" of Soviet education. In the process he became a deputy to the city Soviet and was honored by the Latvian Ministry of Education by recognition for "splendid public education." Only last year he was awarded the "Badge of Honor" for his service. Yet in September of this year he was released from his post for "unsuitability." Scandal at the "model" school was the cause of Smelter's difficulty.

It seems that one of Smelter's teachers invited a senior pupil to the theater, and then persuaded her to spend the night at his apartment rather than return late to her dormitory in the school-internat and face the wrath of the house mother. Smelter heard of this episode but took no action because of the teacher's assurances that "nothing happened." However, on the next sign of trouble, Smelter took his disciplinary troubles to the raion party committee. A student's diary had fallen into his hands, which revealed that the mathematics teacher had an affair with a student he subsequently dropped for the favor of others. The diary named various girls the teacher was luring to his quarters "on the promise of high grades." A full-scale investigation by the Ministry of Education uncovered even more scandal at the "model" school. The Physical Education teacher had "created an original corporation of drunks", which attracted four other teachers into shady ways. The entire faculty knew about these goings on. After stirring the community to its depths by the involvement of loyalties and reputations, the investigation led to a court trial at which an "arch-liberal" (in Izvestiya's opinion) sentence was meted out to the two "teacher-seducers": one and one-half years deprivation of liberty for one and a suspended teacher's license for one year for the other. Izvestiya contrasts the raion Party secretary's description of school director Smelter ("courageous, honest, principled Communist, a good organizer and propagandist") with the Ministry of Education's description ("he is crude, arrogant, insolent"), and concludes that injustice has been done. Yet the main issue, as Izvestiya sees it, is that the conditions at the school were well known to the majority of the faculty. Like the faculties of "several other of the Republic's schools", this one was afraid to level criticism against colleagues even when their bad conduct was an open secret. The report gives the impression that the matter will be investigated further and more severe action taken.

COMMENT. The raion secretary's opinion of the Ministry's action gives an indication of party influence in local school matters. In addition to praising Smelter (see above), the raion secretary admits that he "has, of course, also some character defects, but is it possible that for this they should remove a man from his position /as school director/?"

12. Building of Private Housing Curtailed in Armenia. The Council of Ministers of Armenia has approved regulations "Concerning Individual Housing Construction in Cities, Raion Centers and Settlements of the Armenian Republic", which limit building of one or two-storey private houses to up to five rooms and a living area not to exceed 60 square meters (i.e., about 30 feet by 20 feet) (Kommunist

/Armenia/, December 15, 1961). By insisting on various permits, the new measure is designed to channel would-be builders of private homes through authorized outlets for building materials, and to curtail possibilities for speculation in housing (e.g., the local architectural committees must first approve building plans). Corresponding (unpublished) measures are being applied to the building of dachas, but it is left unclear from press reports when a dacha becomes a house, or whether one person (or married couples living together) is prohibited from building both a house and a dacha. Building by cooperatives (consisting of 10 or more persons) is also permitted, presumably with appropriately increased allowances in prescribed size.

COMMENT: This measure is the most recent of several taken recently in various republics of the Soviet Union to tighten up control of the private sector and especially over "private ownership" which often is felt to conflict somewhat with the building of Communism. The abuses the regulations are designed to curtail are, of course, a direct outgrowth of the continuing severe Soviet housing shortage.

13. Do-It-Yourself: The "Repair Druzhina", a New Social Form? The Soviets face an ever increasing problem of maintenance as their building program produces more and more capital equipment (apartment houses and the like). To help keep such investments in good order, Evening Moscow (December 16, 1961) announced the formation of groups calling themselves the "repair druzhina." The groups attempt small repairs, maintenance, and home improvements, using off-duty "voluntary" labor from within the living collective.

14. Russian Poet Commits Suicide. An American professor in the Soviet Union on a one-year study course reports that Georgily OKSMAN, Professor of Literature at Gorky University, with whom he has close ties, states that Soviet poet and writer Aleksandr Alekseyevich OVECHKIN has committed suicide, probably within the last two months. The reason for his suicide is not known to the Embassy.

MILITARY

(Negative).

For the Ambassador:

Boris H. Klosson

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Counselor for Political Affairs

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